1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

614

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shirona in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself.

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows.

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas.

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the sodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

592
614
613
621
[193]

The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyaseganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

592
55
614
613

In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

592 The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
614 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
613 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and Now Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The
[193] root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT Continues TOP of P 120--analyst]

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seek to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

551 592 184 619 613 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this is true of all the villages, the household order name is still important because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surname are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 191 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

551 Sometimes they are nicknames like "Fat" or "Slim," or those used ironically like "Curly" for a bald headed man. No offense is taken by the fishing people at these nicknames, though they would be used by people in other villages only to very close friends, if at all. The commonest of these Okinawan nicknames are:

(1) Migwa. This is applied to persons who are squint-eyed or to those whose eyes have the appearance of being only partially open. Persons with this formation of the eyelid are not uncommon, and after one is alerted to the word, he can appreciate the frequency with which it is used. It applies to old and young alike.

(2) Another very common name is gappai. Sometimes this seems to mean a person with a pronounced dolicocephalic head, or one with a high bump in the back of the head, or a person with a high forehead and long head, rounding off high in back. In any event, one can soon recognize the distinctive features of the gappai when he sees a person who has that nickname. Migwa and gappai may supplant the person's own name. One 15 year old boy was universally known as gappai, even by old grandmothers who would use the nickname in much the same way we would say "Sonny."

Less common are (3) akabe or akaba, referring to children with many boils and swellings. Names given in childhood often stay with a person through adulthood after the cause for which the names were bestowed has disappeared. (4) Naga, for tall and slender, corresponding to "Slim." (5) Kuru (from kurol, black). This refers to children born a little darker than most. It does not mean people deeply tanned, almost blackened by the sun, as many local fishermen are. (6) Hinga, meaning dirty and used of people who do not wash themselves. It is applied to old women, such as hingabachii, a dirty old woman. (7) Sakikwa, a drunkard, one who consumes too much sake. (8) Butenden, big belly, corresponding to "Fat" or "Fatty." (9) Mikku, a one-eyed man. It is also applied to a person one of whose eyes droops. (10) Tigwa, no hands, (11) hanahaga, bump on the nose, including a wart or a growth, (12) shippiru, "Shorty," (13) mintama, large open, presumably popping eyes, and (14) maguru. This applies to extremely curly hair, like peppercorn hair. This is unusual among Okinawans, but one occasionally sees it, thick and abundant, with coarse, dry, and very tight curls.

[184] These terms were known and recognized in the other villages studied, but they were not freely used. There seems to be a genuine distinction here in the behavior of the fishing people and the more restrained agricultural villagers. One Minatogawan explained the rough language as a carry over from the language of the sea, but he emphasized that the nicknames would give no offense in Minatogawa, while they would be insulting to the neighboring people of Nagamo.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Iinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names.

553 [164]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nya, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5]

551 ●

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc.

[212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen.

849 553 [nn]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jiro (m); Saburu (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Utu (f); Kenashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." •

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

• Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 ● 177 217

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few [843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male [593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa- ●551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko 553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often 842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might [177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families, 744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses 847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in [732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion [848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation [461] reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work- [522] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of pregnancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551 ●
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinee, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [177]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They [614]
did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The
paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses). 614

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same surname. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks. 614 55 [171] [177]

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An. [192] [177]

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the 613